1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

KORATEU OR KUZKARV

773 776 Korateu was the son of Teikirzi. One day when Teikirzi was going from one village to another she went into a cave called Teivelkursh, by the side of a stream called Kathipa, near Kakhudri, and there gave birth to a son, who was called Azo-mazo. The afterbirth dropped into the stream and was carried down to Teipakh (the Paikara river). It travelled down the river as far as a place called Marsnavai, where there were growing two plants called *tib* and *purs* in which it became entangled. The afterbirth then slowly arose and became a boy, and the boy was Korateu. When Azo-mazo became a man he went to live at Pernòdr in the Kundahs, but Korateu lived in the river till he was eight years old. The river Teipakh was the brother of Teikirzi. As he sat in the lap of his uncle Korateu used often to play at making the buffalo horns called *tebkuter* (Fig. 35).[1] When he was eight years old he founded a *ti* and created a male and a female buffalo, making both out of earth. He also built a dairy and a buffalo pen and made the garment called *tasi*. As soon as the buffaloes had a calf, he went to fetch a churning-stick from Kaiers, beyond Makurti Peak, and took it to Nerva, near Mòdr, where his buffaloes were standing. He then went to Kurkòdr, a bamboo grove near Meipadi in the Wainad, and made a *kwoi* or milking vessel. He next made the *perstis* and the

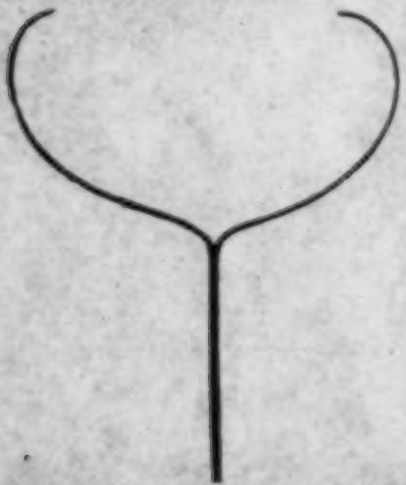

FIG. 35.—IMITATION BUFFALO HORNS.

[524]

[1] Usually called *perkuter*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

GAMES

541 It is not altogether easy to draw the line between Toda games and Toda ceremonies. The sport which is practised with the greatest zest is undoubtedly the catching of the buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies, and in the old days when the *marvainolkdr* lasted two days, the first day, devoted to catching the buffaloes and putting them in the pen, must have been largely of a sportive character. Even now it is evident that the catching of the buffaloes is a spectacle which is much enjoyed by all in spite of the sad event which has led to its taking place.

The Todas have, however, pure games, though it is doubtful whether some of them have not acquired in a certain degree a ceremonial character.

524 526 177 In one of these games called *narthpini*, a boy squeezes through a narrow tunnel formed by a flat slab of stone over two upright slabs. Two boys start from different distances, and the object of the nearer boy is to squeeze through the tunnel before the other can touch his feet. I did not have an opportunity of seeing this game, and I only saw the stones with which it is played at one village. This was at Nödrs, where the three stones are called *menkars* and mark the spot at which one of the ordinary buffaloes is killed at the funeral ceremonies. The *menkars* is shown in Fig. 12 in front of and a little to the right of the entrance to the dairy.

Another game resembling tip-cat is called *olu*, and at some villages there is a special stone where the game is played. A piece of wood pointed at both ends is propped against the stone and struck with a stick, and should be caught by someone at a distance. The name for this game is probably Badaga,[1] and this suggests that the game has been borrowed from this people.

According to Breeks another game called *kiridlapini*, resembling 'puss in the corner,' is played by the Todas. The name suggests a true Toda game and I regret that I know nothing about it.

[1] The game is described by Breeks and Thurston under the name of *ilatu*, but this again is certainly not Toda.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 buffaloes) from a Badaga by doing so. Bets of this kind are
525 probably only made with Badagas, and betting is almost certainly not properly a Toda custom.

524 In addition to developed games, the Todas, and especially
857 the children, often play with mimic representations of objects from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport. On the hill of Mirson, where the chief council used to be held, I found a small pen, well built and with a gate, and was assured that it was made in sport by the children only a few years ago. This hill is one on which there are many cairns and such mimic representations may possibly mystify some future archæologist.

524 The commonest toys with which the children play are little
764 imitation buffalo horns made of wood (see Fig. 35). In the
517 legend, the boy Kuzkarv played with such horns, and even little children in arms may be seen fondling these play-things. The horns are burnt with the body at the funeral ceremonies, but only at those of males, though this rule was infringed at the funeral of Sinerani. In the funeral lament for his wife Teitnir speaks of their playing with imitation horns and imitation bracelets, so that adults evidently amuse themselves in this way as well as children.

526 Another imitation sport I have often seen is that of boys
857 or youths hanging on the horns and round the necks of buffaloes exactly as is done when catching the animals at the funeral ceremonies. The skill shown at these ceremonies is probably the result of long practice in play of this kind.

Nearly all these games are connected in some way with the buffalo or the dairy, in some cases only remotely, as when the *suvkars* of Nòdrs is used for the *narthpini* game, while the *tukitthkars* may be kept by the dairy. Only one of the games so far described is wholly unconnected with the dairy, and this, the *ela* game, has a name which suggests that it has been borrowed.

517 Though the Todas have, as we see, a fair number of games, they are not much given to playing them. I never saw one of the more developed games in progress, and this formed a great contrast to my previous ethnological experience

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

in Torres Straits, where hardly a day would pass without seeing games being played. 517

The chief interest in the case of the Todas is the clear evidence they give of games arising owing to the sportive imitation by children of the more serious occupations of their elders. In some of these cases the games so arising are useful in providing the younger members of the community with practice in feats which they will in later life be called upon to perform. 857

RIDDLES

The Todas are very fond of riddles, which they call *uerat*. The following are examples:— [517] 524 539

Mors illāk kurkāl, pal illāk ūdi? Mā, nolo.
Udder without milks, mouth without drinks? Rain, earth.

I.e., What is it that gives milk without an udder, what is it that drinks without a mouth? Rain, earth.

Ūrā mars illāk, kādal kal illāk, athiun? Kādi,
In (or to) village udder without, in forest leg without, what is it? Hen,

pak.
snake.

Kurād mukk parād ain, parād mukk kurād ain? Kādr,
Little son big becomes, big son little becomes? Horn,

kasi.
ear.

This riddle depends on a comparison of the horn and ear of the buffalo. The horn of the calf is very small, the ear is relatively large.

Pūo pāmadi, kaim kaimadi? Tūf.
Flower does not blossom, berry does not ripen? Fern.

Wārād mulu, mukk pachiam, pīr ārchiam, pāthaerpāi
Whole year days, son begetting, pregnant, this is custom

anki? Pishkimdu.
to it?

Pishkimdu is a tree which bears flowers or is giving fruit the whole year round.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

524 539

Purkdrfudsb *adzipolojtki?* *Kudi* *kugiti.*
Calls out if why that says no? Cock crows.

What is it that calls out and no one replies? The cock.

Nula *tiri* *kai,* *pon* *tiri* *pov?* *Elu.*
Earth goes round fruit, sky goes round flower? The tip-cat game.

Mudil *plr* *vatvai,* *pin* *marvvati;* *pin* *plr*
First pregnant who becomes, later is delivered; later pregnant

vatvai, *mudil* *marvvati?* *Tâmi,* *kudj.*
who becomes, first is delivered? A grain, barley.

Tamu or *samai* (*patm*) is the grain from which *patcherski*, one of the chief Toda foods, is made. It shows above the ground later than barley, but is reaped earlier.

524 I did not hear of any mechanical puzzles or tricks used by the Todas, and it was quite clear that they had no knowledge of cat's-cradle.

Poetry and Music

533 538 I have given two samples of Toda poetry in the chapter on funeral ceremonies. These are the chief occasions on which songs are composed, but they are also made when a new dairy is being built, and may be composed and sung on any festive occasion. The general name for compositions of this kind is *kwedsti*, and certain men have special reputations as composers. The most noted of recent times was a man named Mervoin belonging to the family of Kiugi.

Of those now living, Teitnir, whose two funeral songs I have given, is a noted composer, and I was told of six other men who were especially gifted in this way.

Though I have called these compositions songs, they should, perhaps, rather be called recitations. They are [495] certainly not songs with any musical accompaniment. I understood, though I am not clear about this, that the clauses, or *kwarsam*, of the funeral poems are said in a low voice "in the throat," so that they are not understood by the people who hear them. If this is correct, the funeral *kwarsam* resemble in this respect those of which the prayers consist.

538 The Toda poets also compose songs on any festive

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

524 526 575 411 204

THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys' game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

241

They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 260 177 262 457 439 427

The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus ncl, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

While the funeral game was in progress, the men showed off their prowess at a game (eln),* corresponding to the English tip-cat, which is epidemic at a certain season in the London bye-streets. It is played with a bat like a broomstick, and a cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends. The latter is propped up against a stone, and struck with the bat. As it flies off the stone, it is hit to a distance with the bat, and caught (or missed) by the out fields.

At the Muttanâd mand, we were treated to a further exhibition of games. In one of these, called narthpimi, a flat slab of stone is supported horizontally on two other slabs fixed perpendicularly in the ground so as to form a narrow tunnel, through which a man can just manage to wriggle his body with difficulty. Two men take part in the game, one stationing himself at a distance of about thirty yards, the other about sixty yards from the tunnel. The front man, throwing off his mantle, runs as hard as he can to the tunnel, pursued by the 'scratch' man, whose object is to touch the other man's feet before he has squeezed himself through the tunnel. Another sport, which we witnessed, consists of trial of strength with a heavy globular stone, the object being to raise it up to the shoulder; but a strong, well-built-man—he who was entrusted with slaying the funeral buffalo—failed to raise it higher than the pit of the stomach, though straining his muscles in the attempt. A splendidly made veteran assured me that, when young and lusty, he was able to accomplish the feat, and spoke sadly of degeneration in the physique of the younger members of the tribe.

Mr. Breeks mentions that the Todas play a game resembling puss-in-the-corner, called kâriâlapimi, which

* Called by Breeks ilata, [which, Dr. Rivers suggests, is a Badaga name.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

524 was not included in the programme of sports got up for our benefit. Dr. Rivers writes that "the Todas, and especially the children, often play with mimic representations of objects from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport." I have, on several occasions, come across young children playing with long and short pieces of twigs representing buffaloes and their calves, and going solemnly through the various incidents in the daily life of these animals. Todas, both old and young, may constantly be seen twisting flexible twigs into representations of buffaloes' heads and horns.

539 Of Toda songs, the following have been collected :—

Sunshine is increasing. Mist is fast gathering. Rain may come. Thunder roars. Clouds are gathering.

Rain is pouring. Wind and rain have combined.

Oh, powerful god, may everything prosper!

May charity increase!

May the buffaloes become pregnant!

See that the buffaloes have calves.

See that the barren women have children.

Go and tell this to the god of the land.

Keygamor, Eygamor (names of buffaloes).

Evening is approaching. The buffaloes are coming.

The calves also have returned.

The buffaloes are saluted.

The dairy-man beats the calves with his stick.

Milk has been offered to the bell.

It is growing dark.

This is a buffalo with beautiful horns.

A buffalo stupidly given away by the Badaga.

A buffalo brought to the Kāndal mand.

To 302 524 have any except buffalo butter, which they rub into it. They are very fond of sporting games, and the country is green and rolling with many hills and is very nice to play about in.

To 595 A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail, will best enable us to compare their system to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the property here is not the axis around which polyandry turns.

To 595 582 472 Three brothers married, polyandrously, a young lady, Potöz (see FIGURE 2). She was married to one of her cousins when she was two years old, as is the practice. When she came of age, however, she married these three brothers. She had no children and died quite early, so that the three brothers were left without any children and without a wife. Then, the following thing occurred. The eldest brother Eroï, married a young woman, known as Sotaboof, and went off on his own; *i.e.*, he was not willing that his two brothers should share this woman with him. He became a government agent, and because he had founded a family of his own, he was entitled to take his part of the buffalo belonging in common to all three brothers. He took one-third of the buffalo away, and two extra, although I cannot remember why; but the important thing is that he was entitled to a share of the common property.

To 595 583 592 The two others tried to marry a woman called Mab. The second brother, Kiel, asked Mab's father, but the father started haggling with him over the bride-price. (They have to pay a price for a girl, a custom which does not exist among the Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine buffaloes, which the young man would not give and left in a huff. Then the third brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon after she became pregnant. In the meantime, her father died and the second brother, hearing of this from Konoch, returned to the house and asked if she would accept him as her second husband, which she did, even though she was pregnant from the third brother. The